



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

Edinburgh Research Explorer

Baroque stage curtains

Citation for published version:

Robbins, J 2015, 'Baroque stage curtains: Space, spectacle and the monarch', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, vol. 92, no. 8-10, pp. 347-67. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1105482>

Digital Object Identifier (DOI):

[10.1080/14753820.2016.1105482](https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2016.1105482)

Link:

[Link to publication record in Edinburgh Research Explorer](#)

Document Version:

Peer reviewed version

Published In:

Bulletin of Spanish Studies

Publisher Rights Statement:

© Robbins, J. (2015). Baroque Stage Curtains: Space, Spectacle and the Monarch. Bulletin of Spanish Studies.

General rights

Copyright for the publications made accessible via the Edinburgh Research Explorer is retained by the author(s) and / or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing these publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

Take down policy

The University of Edinburgh has made every reasonable effort to ensure that Edinburgh Research Explorer content complies with UK legislation. If you believe that the public display of this file breaches copyright please contact openaccess@ed.ac.uk providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.



Baroque Stage Curtains: Space, Spectacle and the Monarch

Jeremy Robbins

University of Edinburgh

In a series of recent studies, I have argued that across Europe in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries there developed a highly distinctive use of space. By means of perspective, artists not only created an incredible illusion of three-dimensional space on wall and ceiling, but imperceptibly merged this spatial *trompe l'œil* with the real space of the viewer, the illusionistic space seamlessly extending real space upwards and outwards because painted on a one-to-one scale with it. The result is what I have called Baroque space: an inhabitable space which fuses the real and the illusory architectural spaces of which it is comprised into a single space that, because of the seamless fusion of the two, paradoxically partakes of the antithetical qualities of both, being neither real, nor illusionistic, but both simultaneously.¹

Such Baroque space is also created and exploited by scenographers, but in a distinct way. With *quadratura*, the fusion of real and illusionistic space aimed to be seamless, the real architectural features of a room flowing imperceptibly into the frescoed architecture on its walls and/or ceiling and vice versa. Such was impossible in court theatres because, whilst monumental perspectival sets could create exceedingly realistic illusions of space that astonished contemporaries, the need for a proscenium arch precisely to conceal the workings of machines and sets that made such illusions possible meant that there was necessarily a physical barrier between real space and stage space. Nonetheless, scenographers and dramatists almost from the inception of the proscenium worked tirelessly to overcome the necessary separation it enforced and to fold real and illusionistic space into one another. Central to the folding of auditorium and stage were the liminal dramatic forms integral to a court spectacle, forms such as the *loa*, *entremés*, *sainete*, and *fin de fiesta*. I have explored elsewhere how such liminal forms, in effecting the folding of space, function as a Deleuzian *Zweifalt*.² The fold is the concept Deleuze uses to express the interpenetration of things which are utterly distinct yet totally inseparable. He expands the notion of the fold from the work of Leibniz such that it becomes not simply a means of expressing the relationship of matter and soul, but a trait, an 'operative function', of the Baroque itself.³ After citing examples of the fold from architecture—where it expresses the relation of interior and exterior—and from the work of El Greco—where, in *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, literal (cloud) folds divide-yet-join the upper (spiritual) and lower (terrestrial) sections of the canvas—Deleuze defines the *Zweifalt* as follows:

the ideal fold is the *Zweifalt*, a fold that differentiates and is differentiated. When Heidegger calls upon the *Zweifalt* to be the differentiator of difference, he means above all that differentiation does not refer to a pre-given undifferentiated, but to a Difference that endlessly unfolds and folds over from each of its two sides, and that unfolds the one only while refolding the other, in a coextensive unveiling and veiling of Being [...] The 'duplicity' of the fold has to be reproduced from the two sides that it distinguishes, but it relates one to the other by distinguishing them: a severing by which each term casts the other forward, a tension by which each fold is pulled into the other.⁴

In the present article, I want to extend the notion of the *Zweifalt*, of a fold that, in uniting-yet-distinguishing, 'differentiates and is differentiated', to that most liminal element of court theatre, the curtain.

Deleuze argues that the fold as an operative function shows that 'if two really distinct things can be inseparable, two inseparable things can be really distinct'.⁵ But the primary effect of the folding of real and illusionistic space into one space is not so much to make two things that are distinct inseparable, though it is this, as

¹ See my 'Baroque Space: Claudio Coello's *Sagrada forma* and the Sacristy of the Escorial', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 86 (2009), 775-86.

² See my 'Folding Space and Staging the Palace in the Baroque *sainete*: Antonio de Solís' *fin de fiesta* to *Triunfos de Amor y Fortuna* (1658)', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 85 (2008), 79-91 (p.91).

³ See Gilles Deleuze, *The Fold: Leibniz and the Baroque*, translated by Tom Conley (London and New York: Continuum, 2003), 3.

⁴ See Deleuze, *Fold*, 30.

⁵ See Deleuze, *Fold*, 12.

to mutually cross over binary opposites. Thus, in a typical *quadratura* scheme real becomes false and false becomes real, as the interior is opened up to the exterior, and the exterior flows into the interior.⁶ Whilst Deleuze's emphasis is categorically on the *difference* between what is inseparably folded—like Leibniz, whose work he is explicating in developing the notion of the fold, he focuses in the main on the problematic body/soul binary—this process of reciprocal cross-over can seem to throw into question, sometimes playfully, sometimes seriously, whether the two spaces thus intimately folded *are* ultimately distinct, not least when *ser* and *parecer* are so folded together that the apparent ontological solidity of the former is undermined as it is equated with the real insubstantiality of the latter.⁷ It is precisely this mutual cross-over of binary opposites (appearance/reality; upper/lower; outside/inside; left/right; heaven/earth; real/ideal; actor/person; temporal/eternal; solidity/fluidity etc.), a cross-over that results from the fusion of real and illusionsitic space into a seamless, unitary space which is, consequently, both real and illusory at one and the same time, that is the most striking feature of physical space in the Baroque. Indeed, I would argue that it is precisely this that *makes* such space Baroque. Here I wish to explore the curtain's role in the folding of real and illusionistic space. In so doing, I shall examine the function of the curtain in court theatre and its dynamic relationship with the *loa*. An analysis of the striking use of the curtain to depict space in the 1687 court production, *Duelos de ingenio y fortuna*, and a comparison of this court spectacle with others from the same decade with which, I shall argue, it is in open dialogue, will lead to an examination of the representation of the monarch in court drama and, consequently, to a broader consideration of the implications for the king of his being caught within the folding of illusion and reality that typifies Baroque space.

The role of the curtain in folding auditorium and stage space together is neatly exemplified in Ferdinando Galli Bibiena's etching, probably made in 1719, of Giacomo Torelli's Teatro della Fortuna in Fano. This shows the proscenium with the curtain lowered, the image on the curtain representing the auditorium as if seen from the stage. In other words, the curtain acts precisely as a mirror of the auditorium. Although it is by no means clear that such a curtain actually existed,⁸ this remains a very telling representation of the fusion of the representation of space with the space of representation, of, that is, Baroque space. Even if only an ingenious means of representing the otherwise unrepresentable, namely the view both *of* the stage and *from* the stage in a single image, the etching nevertheless embodies wittily the very notion I wish to explore, namely the binding of two distinct spaces into one, and the role of the curtain in this.⁹

In what is represented on them, curtains created for specific court spectacles tend to overtly mirror the stage space and obliquely allude to the auditorium, though some mirror the auditorium, like the Teatro della Fortuna's curtain as recorded or imagined by Galli Bibiena, and, occasionally and spectacularly, a curtain may reflect both spaces simultaneously. And of course, as physical markers of space, they occupy an important liminal space themselves. Consequently, curtains represent space *in* and *on* themselves. They need therefore to be considered in terms of space, of representation and, frequently, in terms of their representation of space; that is to say, in terms of their physical location and their pictorial representation of the space in front and behind them. It is as both spatial elements and as bearers of representation (of space) that they function as a *Zweifalt* in the creation of theatrical Baroque space.

⁶ On this reciprocal cross-over of binary opposites and its relation to the aesthetic of wit, especially as this is articulated by Sarbiewski, see my 'Baroque Architecture: Góngora and the Folds of Wit', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies*, 90 (2013), 55-82 where I bring into dialogue Baroque *quadratura* and the architectonic rhetoric of Góngora.

⁷ Such a reading of the consequence of the folding of binaries in Baroque space, namely the collapsing of difference into similarity, would, of course, be essentially anti-Deleuzian. Compare my 'Baroque Architecture: Góngora and the Folds of Wit', 79.

⁸ See Franco Battistelli in *Giacomo Torelli: L'invenzione scenica nell'Europa barocca*, edited by Francesco Milesi (Fano: Cassa di Risparmio di Fano, 2000), 387.

⁹ Like Vasari in his life of Giorgione and Vicente Carducho in his *Diálogos de la pintura*, Gracián praises a painter's ingenuity in using multiple reflective surfaces to depict an object in the round. See Baltasar Gracián, *El Criticón*, edited by M. Romera-Navarro, vol. III (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1940), 2-3. The use of reflection to overcome the limitations of our fixed viewpoint was widespread in Baroque culture, the mirror in *Las meninas* being perhaps the most prominent example.

The curtains for Spanish court productions for which there are actual images are few—*Andrómeda y Perseo* (1651), *Los celos hacen estrellas* (1672), *Pélope e Hipodamia* (1698), *Todo lo vence el Amor* (1707), and the 1690 production of *La fiera, el rayo y la piedra* for the viceregal court in Valencia—and in most cases we have only the (admittedly often detailed) verbal descriptions given in accounts of specific court spectacles. As the visual evidence testifies, curtains could be simply decorated, with the monograms of the monarchs, for example, as in *Andrómeda y Perseo*, or they could be painted with much more elaborate images, as is the case with the other four illustrations that have come down to us. The curtain was raised towards the start of the *loa* which began the spectacle and then only lowered at the spectacle's finish with the *fin de fiesta*, and whilst early modern curtains could be raised by being rolled around a drum hidden behind the proscenium arch as described in Nicola Sabbattini's *Pratica di fabricar scene e machine ne'teatri* (1638), the evidence for Spain suggests a preference for raising the curtain 'en forma de pabellón', as shown in an illustration for *Andrómeda y Perseo* or as described in the written account of *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa* (1680).

The various ways in which a curtain might establish connections with the real world and with that of the fictional world on stage can be briefly illustrated with two examples. For the first of these, namely the curtain created for Francisco de Bances Candamo's *La restauración de Buda*, performed on Nov 15 1686 in the *saloncete* of the Buen Retiro and then transferred to the Buen Retiro's purpose-built theatre, the Coliseo, there is no surviving visual evidence, but the curtain *is* described in the edition of the play itself.¹⁰ The *comedia* itself celebrates the Habsburg siege and capture of Buda from the Ottomans in 1686 by the imperial army under Charles, Duke of Lorraine. The curtain depicted the city of Buda in perspective with, in the sky above, an Imperial eagle flying eastward which

con la diestra garra colocaba una cruz sobre el capitel de la torre de San Esteban antigua, y matriz parroquial de aquella metrópoli de Hungría, y con la siniestra fijaba el imperial estandarte sobre los muros del Castillo: del siniestro pico pendía este mote: *Reddire, igitur, quod est Césaris, César* y del derecho el otro extremo del texto: *Et quod est Dei Deo* (Marc.12). De las rocas de la ciudad pendía el siguiente castellano: *La era de César cuente / el gran año en qu volvió / al César lo que es del César / y lo que es de Dios, a Dios.* (130-31)

The performance began with figures representing the Year and the Four Seasons appearing in front of the curtain and singing in general terms of the campaign's stages across the year. The curtain was then raised to reveal the Temple of Fame with statues of heroes placed in the set's receding flats (134). In the *loa*, Ninus, Cyrus, Alexander and Alaric appear representing, respectively, the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Visigothic empires and the back of the set opens to reveal a niche with Julius Caesar on a pedestal with Otomano—Osman, the first Ottoman emperor—chained and weeping at his feet (138), Caesar paying homage to the emperor Leopold for finishing in Hungary what he, Caesar, had begun (139). With its illustration of the Imperial city of Buda surmounted by the Habsburg eagle, the curtain explicitly references both political reality and theatrical spectacle, and its verbal element, the Biblical quotation, is literalised in the *loa* with Caesar's homage to the new Caesar, Charles II's uncle and Mariana's brother, Leopold. What we have in this typical example, then, is not a direct representation of stage or auditorium space, but a representation of images that, as with the Biblical quotation, point simultaneously out to the auditorium and inwards to the stage.

The second example is the curtain designed by Antonio Palomino for Antonio de Zamora's *Todo lo vence el Amor*, performed on Nov 17 1707 in the Coliseo to celebrate the birth of Philip V's son, Luis. Palomino's design for the curtain survives and this visual evidence can be supplemented by the description of the first performance.¹¹

¹⁰ See Francisco Antonio de Bances Candamo, 'Loa para la gran comedia de «La restauración de Buda»', edited by Ignacio Arellano, in *Apuntes sobre la loa sacramental y cortesana. Loas completas de Bances Candamo*, edited by Ignacio Arellano, Kurt Spang, M.Carmen Pinillos (Kassel: Reichenberger, 1994), 127-42 (p.129n). Further page references to this edition of the *loa* are given in the text.

¹¹ See *Comedia nueva intitulada Todo lo vence el Amor. Fiesta que se ejecutó a sus Majestades en el Coliseo del Sitio Real del Buen Retiro. En celebridad del deseado feliz nacimiento de nuestro serenísimo príncipe Don Luis Fernando de Borbón. A la expensa de la muy noble, leal, imperial, coronada Villa de Madrid. Quien la dedica a la alta católica majestad del Rey nuestro Señor (que Dios guarde). [...] Escribiola don Antonio de Zamora* (no place, no publisher, 1707). References are to this edition; Latin quotations have been corrected. On the curtain, see J. E. Varey, 'Dos telones para el Coliseo del Buen Retiro', *Villa de Madrid*, 19 (1981), 15-18; Teresa Zapata Fernández de la Hoz, 'Fiesta teatral en el Real Coliseo del Buen Retiro para celebrar el nacimiento de Luis I', *Villa de Madrid*, 100 (1989), 36-48; Margarita Torrión, 'El Real Coliseo del Buen Retiro: memoria de una arquitectura

Importantly, as this description makes clear, the curtain represents what the audience will see on stage once the curtain is raised by Esperanza and Posesión, who first descend and sing in front of it.¹² This stage set is itself described in some detail:

Habiéndose apeado en el tablado y ocultándose las nubes en que descendieron, volaron de rápido, llevándose cada una la mitad de la Cortina en forma de pabellón y en el aire se vio un sol, en cuyo centro estaba el nombre coronado, con una tarjeta transparente en la mano, con una cifra que decía LUIS. Su circunferencia ocupaba doce rayos, en las puntas de los seis alternativamente estaban sobre nubes hermosas seis figuras que eran el Número, el Siglo, el Año, el Agosto, el Día, y la Hora, teniendo cada uno en la mano una tarjetilla recortada con su divisa: la del Número un I; la del Siglo XVIII; la del Año M.DCC.VII; la del Agosto VIII; la del Día XXV; la de la Hora X. Cerrando toda esta fábrica un rotulón en que estaba escrito: *Clarus in offenso procedat lumina Titan. Virg. in Epig.natal.* A las espaldas del sol había dos cerchones, uno adornado de gafas, y otro de rayos, que moviéndose encontrados y continuadamente, fingían una vistosa reverberación. En el primer cuerpo del tablado estaba a mano diestra en un solio majestuoso España con cetro y corona y esta inscripción: *Casta fave Lucina. Virg. Egl. 4.* Enfrente, en otro adorno correspondiente, Lucina, con ésta: *Tuus iam regnat Apollo. ibi.* En los claros que quedaban vacíos estaban el Esplendor con una hacheta encendida. La Abundancia con una cornucopia de flores y frutos; la Paz con un ramo de oliva; la Fortuna con una ruedecilla con alas; la Fama con un clarín; y la Inmortalidad con una sierpe en círculo. Arrimado al trono de España el Deseo y al de Lucina el Logro, y por ambos lados repartidos en los claros de los bastidores los demás hombres y mujeres, todos de gala. (2)

Here we have a good example of how curtains gesture to real space through both visual and, as is more normal, verbal allusions and references to the rationale for the court spectacle in which they appear. What is noteworthy about Palomino's design is that the curtain reproduces in two dimensions the stage set for the *loa*, representing quite literally thereby the space of the stage itself. This is a type of curtain design I shall consider more fully in what follows.

As in these two examples, the curtain typically gestures to the audience and to the *comedia*. It thus has a primary deitic function which emphasises the particularities of both the performance and the play and, thereby, folds real and fictional space together. That deitic function uses both verbal and visual elements, as frequently does the proscenium arch itself, and this mutually-enforcing combination of words and images makes both curtain and proscenium, separately and together, function in comparable ways to an emblem.

In terms of spatial demarcation and conflation, a key element as seen here is the fact that the performance normally starts in front of the closed curtain. Or, rather, the performance starts with the closed curtain *per se*, the action itself then starting in front of that curtain and continuing on stage with the *loa*'s actual physical set once the curtain is raised. This means that the curtain effectively functions as the spectacle's initial backdrop or set. It also means that the *loa*, which is itself a liminal dramatic form in its temporal location in the sequence of elements that together comprise the overall spectacle, not only tends to start in the most liminal location in the theatre, on and in front of the curtain, but, in so doing, has itself, as it were, its own miniature introductory *loa*. This is tacitly acknowledged in the manuscript account of Calderón's *Andrómeda y Perseo* which describes the singing of the actresses who represent Music, Poetry and Painting, and who appear in front of the curtain whilst this was still lowered, as the 'introducción o dedicatoria de la fiesta'.¹³

What I am describing as the liminal elements in court theatre and its productions—the proscenium, curtain, and *loa*—thus all act as 'puentes' or 'vínculos' between the auditorium and the stage.¹⁴ Importantly, they do not

desaparecida', in *España festejante. El siglo XVIII*, edited by Margarita Torrione (Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, 2000), 295-322 (p.303); and Ignacio López Alemany and J. E. Varey, *El teatro palaciego en Madrid: 1707-1724. Estudio y documentos*, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España XXXII (London: Tamesis, 2006), 8-15.

¹² 'Estando tendida la Cortina, que cerraba la primera boca de la frontis (cuyo concepto hermosamente animado del pincel incluía la misma vista que corporea se abultó después de recogerse) [...]'. See *Todo lo vence el Amor*, 1.

¹³ See Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Andrómeda y Perseo. Fábula escénica. Escenotecnia de Baccio del Bianco*, edited by Rafael Maestre (Almagro: Museo Nacional del Teatro, 1994), 45.

¹⁴ See here María Teresa Chaves Montoya, *El espectáculo teatral en la corte de Felipe IV* (Madrid: Ayuntamiento de Madrid, 2004), 191; and J. E. Varey, 'A Further Note on the Actor/Audience Relationship in Spanish Court Plays of the Seventeenth Century', in *Arts du spectacle et histoire des idées: recueil offert en hommage à Jean*

simply extend the world of illusion into that of reality, but also and equally, the world of reality into that of illusion, creating thereby a single, co-extensive space through the reciprocal crossing-over of real and illusionistic space.¹⁵ The curtain's role in this process is paradoxical since it at once literally separates real and illusionistic space by physically demarcating them and, also, seeks at the same time to heal the very breach between them that it visibly establishes. Nowhere is this more strikingly seen than in the curtain for the first performance of Bances Candamo's *Duelos de ingenio y fortuna* which, in the very act of separating real and illusionistic space, collapses them into each other precisely through its representation of space.

With music by Juan de Navas and scenography by José Caudí or one of his followers, *Duelos de ingenio y fortuna* was first performed on Nov 9 1687 to celebrate Charles II's birthday.¹⁶ An elaborate court spectacle, it probably led to Bances Candamo being named court dramatist.¹⁷ The curtain, which is described at length, depicts in perspective a complex scene which includes the nine 'Heroes of Fame' with, in their midst, Fame placing a golden statue of Charles II on a pedestal:

En los primeros términos de la cortina, que ocultaba el teatro, se mostraban los nueve héroes de la Fama, de elevada estatura, divirtiéndose la vista en la variedad de armas, cimbras, banderas, y escudos que los adornaban. En medio de ellos, se elevaba un pedestal a quien coronaba con su huella una estatua de oro del Rey Nuestro Señor armado, cuya diestra mano blandía el real cetro, fatigándole la siniestra dos orbes, sujetos a la circulada coyunda de una corona; y la Fama estaba en acción reverente, colocando el real bulto sobre la augusta basa. En la parte superior del lienzo (fingiendo en lejanos horizontes distancias que creyó la vista) se mostraba la cumbre del monte Parnaso, cuya cerviz ocupaba Apolo, tocando la lira y dando luz a un reloj que, teniendo principio en el número veinte y seis (que es el feliz que el Rey Nuestro Señor llenó en su dichosa edad aquel día), proseguía inundando todo el círculo luciente de infinitos números, que denotaban la Eternidad que (según nuestros deseos) le faltaba para cumplir las inmenas horas de su vida. Ocupaban las vertientes de la montaña, esparcidas, las nueve Musas, en el numeroso solaz de los varios instrumentos que demostraban sus genios. Despeñábase de la cumbre el raudal de la Helicon con tanto ímpetu que viendo los ojos el bullicioso precipicio aguardaron los oídos el cristalino ruido. De un lado volaba la Poesía sobre el alado Pegaso, coronada de laurel, en boreal contienda contra la Historia, que escaramuzaba un plumado pavón en el viento, y el Amor mediaba la contienda oprimiendo una paloma. Ceñía las sienes del monte este dístico latino: *Æternis annum numeris inscribat Apollo, / inter & effigiem construe Fama tuos*. Y en la peña de la estatua se mostraba el castellano: *Numere su edad Apolo / en reloj de eternidades; / y la Fama, entre sus nueve, / coloque su augusta imagen*. Bajaron por delante de la cortina la Poesía, sobre el Pegaso, y la Historia, sobre el pavón, como estaban en ella pintadas, y al estruendo sonoro de la confusa variedad de instrumentos, empezaron de esta suerte el real festín.¹⁸

Jacquot (Tours: Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1984), 177-82 (p.180); and his 'Andrómeda y Perseo, comedia y loa de Calderón: afirmaciones artístico-literarias y políticas', *Revista de Musicología*, 10 (1987), 529-45 (pp.536, 541).

¹⁵ For the classic formulation of the notion of coextensive space, see John Rupert Martin, *Baroque* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1989), 14-15, 155-96. And for an excellent application of the Baroque notions of breaching and co-penetration to modern media entertainment forms, see Angela Ndalani, *Neo-Baroque Aesthetics and Contemporary Entertainment* (Cambridges, MA and London: MIT Press, 2004).

¹⁶ On the probable scenographer, see Kazimierz Sabik, 'El teatro de tema mitológico en la corte de Carlos II (texto y escenografía)', in *El teatro español a fines del siglo XVII: Historia, cultura y teatro en la España de Carlos II*, edited by Javier Huerta Calvo, Harm den Boer and Fermín Sierra Martínez, *Diálogos Hispánicos de Amsterdam*, 8/III (1989), 775-91 (pp.790-91).

¹⁷ See Carmen Sanz Ayán, *Pedagogía de reyes: el teatro palaciego en el reinado de Carlos II* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2006), 145.

¹⁸ See Bances Candamo, *La comedia de Duelos de ingenio y fortuna. Fiesta real que se representó a sus majestades en el gran Coliseo del Buen Retiro al feliz cumplimiento de años del rey Nuestro Señor don Carlos Segundo, que Dios guarde, con loa y sainetes. Descríbese la festiva pompa de galas y trajes, el real aparato de escenas, mutaciones, apariencias y máquinas ingeniosas con que la hizo ejecutar el Excelentísimo Señor Condestable de Castilla, Mayordomo Mayor del Rey Nuestro Señor* (Madrid: Bernardo de Villa-Diego, 1687), fols.2r-v. See also Bances Candamo, 'Loa para la comedia «Duelos de ingenio y fortuna»', edited by Blanca Oteiza, in *Apuntes sobre la loa sacramental y cortesana. Loas completas de Bances Candamo*, 143-65 (pp.152-54).

After History and Poetry have disputed in front of this curtain-backdrop which of them is the more appropriate to celebrate Charles, the curtain is raised:

Voló de rápido la cortina y se descubrieron los nueve Héroes de la Fama en ala, armados con sus diferentes trajes, banderas y insignias, como el pincel los acordaba en la cortina. La estatua de oro del Rey Nuestro Señor de bulto, sobre un pedestal, con el mote castellano, y la Fama colocándola. En lo interior del foro se descubría, como a lo lejos, el monte Parnaso, con Apolo y sus nueve Musas, en la misma acción en que la expuso antes el lienzo. Lo restante del plano del teatro ocupaban de un lado América, dama bizarra, vestida y coronada de plumas, con un coro de indios a quien (sobre el color imitado de carne que los fingía decentemente desnudos) adornaban calzadillos, toneletes, y penachos de varias plumas de peregrinas aves. Y de otro lado España, con corona y manto imperial, a quien seguía un coro de gallardos africanos que, mezclándose con los indios, formaron un vistoso y confuso sarao.¹⁹

As the account emphasises, the image on the curtain is thus literalized, embodied as it were, when the curtain is raised, for the audience then sees actors playing the nine ‘Heroes of Fame’—Charlemagne, Arthur, Godfre de Bouillon, Joshua, David, Judas Macabeus, Alexander, Julius Cesar, and Hector—and Charles’ statue (probably a bust) being placed on a pedestal by an actress playing Fame.²⁰ (The curtain, with its representation of stage space, is thus a forerunner of Palomino’s curtain for the 1707 production of *Todo lo vence el Amor*, discussed above.) By means of this curtain, we have here a complex reinforcement of the ‘reality’ of the illusionistic stage space, a space which is always by definition both real and illusionistic. The illusion of space on the three-dimensional stage is linked directly with the illusion of space on the two-dimensional curtain through their mutual exploitation of perspective—and through their creation of the same scene. But when the illusion of space on the two-dimensional curtain is, as it were, magically replaced by and transformed into identical but now tangible and inhabitable three-dimensional space, it is as if the illusion has become real and, in the process, not only does the illusion of space on the stage trump that on the two-dimensional curtain, but the link between real and stage space is strengthened by being differentiated from the two-dimensional, static, uninhabitable world of painting.

The curtain here involves three distinct spaces: real space (the auditorium where Charles sits); its own liminal location; and illusionistic space (the stage and the set behind it). It represents what is in front of it (Charles) and what is behind it (the stage), and in so doing folds not only real and illusionistic space together, but, more challengingly, reality and representation, that is to say, Charles and his representation(s). For in this mise-en-abyme structure Charles, who is the locus of attention of those in the auditorium, sees a representation of himself on the curtain and, once this is raised, the representation of himself as represented on the curtain. The Platonic play of reality (Charles), his representation (the statue), and the representation-of-a-representation (the curtain’s painted image of the statue)—alongside the curtain’s representation (of space and of Charles) becoming ‘real’ when it is raised and the playful question of whether the curtain represents the stage, or the stage, the curtain—conjures up a somewhat dizzying spectacle at the heart of which lies the intertwining of *ser* and *parecer* and the collapsing of one into the other. This process is furthered by the mimetic link between Charles and his statue, given the very immobility of the monarch in Habsburg court ceremonial, and, more generally, by the king’s acute self-awareness of his performance as king in that ceremonial. In acting as something of a two-way mirror, the curtain thus facilitates a complex interpenetration of auditorium and stage through the linked notions of representation and of reality-as-representation, that ubiquitous obsession of Baroque culture. The curtain, in other words, in binding real and illusionistic space in and through their mutual engagement with representation, obliquely broaches the issue of the ontological status of both sides of the proscenium.

Comparable examples of monarchical representation binding auditorium and stage space through the mirroring of one in the other are found in two court productions from the same decade, *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*, a *comedia* produced in 1680 to celebrate Charles’ marriage to María Luisa de Orléans, and *Las Bélides*, a *zarzuela* performed in 1686 for the birthday of the queen mother, Mariana of Austria. *Hado y divisa* was Calderón’s last court drama and had its first performance in the Coliseo on 3 March 1680. The sets were designed

¹⁹ See Bances Candamo, *La comedia de Duelos de ingenio y fortuna*, fol.4r; and ‘Loa para la comedia «Duelos de ingenio y fortuna»’, 157-58.

²⁰ Shergold notes a certain resemblance between *Restauración de Buda* and this scene, the former with its statue of Caesar, this with one of Charles. See N. D. Shergold, *A History of the Spanish Stage from Medieval Times until the end of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 350.

by José Caudí and the curtain by Dionisio Mantuano. The manuscript account of this performance describes in great detail the proscenium arch and the curtain:

Manteníase el frontis del teatro sobre cuatro columnas altísimas de orden compuesta, cuya robustez ayudaba la imitación de su materia, que era jaspe verde salpicado de diferentes colores. Tenían sus basas cornisas y capiteles entretallados de variedad de hojas, en cuyo follaje se consideraban raros primores del artificio, debidos a máquina tan augusta. Entre columna y columna había a cada lado un nicho, que colocaba una estatua de Palas y otra de Minerva, de elegante forma, cuya valentía ayudaba el resplendor del oro de que se componían. Sobre estas columnas cargaba el arquitrabe, friso y cornisa; y dando la vuelta ella de un extremo en otro en proporción de círculo, guarnecía un medallón que servía de clave. En él se miraba de relieve el augustísimo blasón de España: un león coronado descansando sobre un orbe, al cual asistía una cruz, cetro y espada, jeroglíficos de la religión y el poder. Pendía de su cuello el toisón, insignia de nuestros monarcas: todo esto de brillantísimo oro, uniéndose amigablemente la ferocidad con el resplendor. Tremolaba por cima de su cabeza esta letra latina: AD NULLIUS PAVET OCCURSUM. Estaba guarnecido el medallón de una guirnalda de laurel en campo de oro, a la cual seguía una orla de niños en diferentes movimientos, tejiéndose por entre la guirnalda de laurel y la orla de los muchachos una cartela, en que de crecidas letras de oro estaban los nombres de nuestros reyes. En los dos extremos, perpendiculares a las columnas, estaban dos estatuas de más que el natural, que significaban las Famas, con ramos de laurel y oliva, trompas y otros trofeos propios de su asunto, de admirable hermosura y variedad. En la cortina que cubría el teatro, parece que se cifraron todos los abries y las primaveras que han gozado los siglos, vertiendo en ella sus flores y sus matices. Orlábase de unas bellísimas guirnaldas, que enlazadas una en otra, hacían una hermosa cadena de vistosos eslabones, imitadas tan al vivo las rosas que las componían, que casi se percibió su fragancia, porque no le pareció al olfato que cumplía con tal prodigio, si no siguiese al engaño de la vista. Pendían a trechos de los eslabones unos muchachos que ansiosos se abrazaban de ellos, temiendo (y con razón) no se los arrebatasen. Seguía a ésta otra guirnalda de cupidillos, que colocados en diferentes movimientos se fijaban todos a una propia acción, que era vibrar con la tirante fatiga de sus arcos un cetro por flecha, en cuya extremidad había una letra de oro en cada uno, de suerte que juntas unían este sagrado mote: VULNERASTI COR MEUM. De suerte que la primer orla de la cadena de flores mantenía la guirnalda de los cupidos, y ésta al círculo de las letras, y las tres servían de engaste a un corazón ardiente que estaba en medio, al cual se encaminaba la dulce tarea de sus arpones, cuya suavidad se declaraba en la letra castellana que había abajo, que decía así: FLECHAS QUE TAN DULCES HIEREN / AL LLEGAR AL CORAZON, / FLORES, QUE NO FLECHAS SON.²¹

At the very start of the performance, *Historia* and *Poesía* appear before the curtain and hear *Música*, from behind it, sing the words written on it: 'Flechas que tan dulces hieren / al llegar al corazón, / flores, que no flechas son' (357). Their curiosity is aroused and they wonder how these words can be true. A giant 'flor de lis', almost filling the mouth of the stage, descends in front of curtain. On it are three actresses playing *Aura*, *Azucena* and *Clavel*, *Azucena* singing *María Luisa's* praises, and *Clavel*, *Charles's*. To show they are not falsely praising the monarchs, they bring *Historia* and *Poesía* to the Temple of Fame where they enter the 'ricos / salones de su palacio' (358). The curtain is then taken up by the giant lily; once raised, it typically presents 'sus extremos en forma de un pabellón' (358). What is revealed is the Temple of Fame, the set being described as 'un salón regio de arquitectura corintia, con la techedumbre de artesones de florones de oro' (358). This perspectival set is one of the very few from a Spanish court spectacle to have attracted any degree of critical attention. The stage is described as follows: 'Desde su primer término hasta el último había catorce reyes, siete a cada lado, los cuales eran figuras naturales adornadas con los aparatos regios de ricos mantos, cetros y coronas. Cargaban sobre unos orbes, teniendo cada uno por respaldo un pabellón en que se unía la púrpura y el oro' (358). *History* and *Poetry* itemise these seven Spanish and seven French ancestors of, respectively, *Charles* and *María Luisa*, the fourteen figures presumably being placed in perspectival recession, as Neumeister suggests, one on each side of the stage alongside each flat as

²¹ See *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa, comedia con loa, entremés, baile y sainete*, in Pedro Calderón de la Barca, *Comedias*, edited by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, vol. IV (Madrid: Atlas, 1945), 356. All references are to this edition. For the manuscript account, see *Hado y divisa de Leonido y Marfisa*, BNM MS 9373.

these recede towards the stage rear.²² But the most significant aspect of the perspectival set is what is placed in front of its vanishing point: ‘En la frente del salón, ocupando el medio de la perspectiva, se hizo un trono cubierto de su suntuoso dosel, debajo del cual había dos retratos de nuestros felicísimos monarcas, imitados tan al vivo, que como estaban frente de sus originales pareció ser un espejo en que trasladaban sus peregrinas perfecciones; y el ansia que desea verlos en todas partes quisiera hallar más repetidas sus copias’ (358).

In contrast to *Duelos*, there is a mimetic linking of the physical appearance of this illusionistic space with an identifiably real one. For whilst the designation of the closed set as a ‘salón regio’ links it generically, as it were, with the Retiro’s auditorium, both being royal halls, its specific appearance recalls the Salón dorado in the Alcázar, both having coffered ceilings and thrones; as Cruickshank notes, ‘the gilt *artesonado* ceiling, the images of the fourteen kings, the canopied throne, combine to indicate that the intention was to re-create a version of the *salón dorado*, the theatre of the old *alcázar*’.²³ But as later in *Duelos*, what is significant is the placing of the monarchs in the auditorium in front of their pictorial representation on stage. In *Hado*, this is emphasised by the use of one-point perspective, as the real monarchs at the viewing point sit and see their life-like images directly opposite them in front of the vanishing point of the stage set. In the *loa*, Fame offers a symbolic reading of the use of perspective here when she declares to Historia and Poesía:

Si al templo de la Fama
venís peregrinando
a efecto de observar
los héroes que en él guardo,
para que una en eternos
anales, y otra en claros
panegíricos, muestren
al orbe que sus lauros
en real joven, en real
esposa, el heredado
esplendor tira a un punto
las líneas de los años. (358)

Greer suggests that the monarchs are presented as what Charles will literally be, the last of his line, commenting that ‘they are the combined inheritors of all the splendor of their illustrious predecessors’ hence ‘the “end of the line” in another, positive way’.²⁴ In one sense, what we have here is an almost literal realisation of a lesson taught by Saavedra Fajardo: *purpura iuxta purpuram dijudicanda*, as the expanded motto to emblem 16 of his *Empresas*

²² For this suggested placement, see Sebastian Neumeister’s ground plan of the auditorium and stage in Neumeister, *Mito clásico y ostentación: Los dramas mitológicos de Calderón* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2000), 299. The figures represent Fernando III, Alfonso el Sabio, Philip I, Charles V, Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV; and Louis, Robert I, Louis of Bourbon, Francis I, Henry IV, Louis XIII, and the Duke of Orléans. In *Duelos*, the nine Heroes of Fame are played by actors, but there is some uncertainty as to the situation in *Hado*: Shergold simply describes the ‘figuras naturales’ as statues, as does Varey, whereas according to Greer, these are played by actors. See Shergold, *History of the Spanish Stage*, 344; and J. E. Varey, ‘The Audience and the Play at Court Spectacles: The Role of the King’, *BHS*, 61 (1984), 399-406 (p.403); and Margaret Rich Greer, *The Play of Power: Mythological Court Dramas of Calderón de la Barca* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 184, 185, 187. The accounts for the 1680 production list material for the costumes of these 14 monarchs: see N.D. Shergold and J.E.Varey, *Representaciones palaciegas: 1603-1699. Estudio y documentos*, Fuentes para la Historia del Teatro en España I (London: Tamesis, 1982), 108-09.

²³ See Don W. Cruickshank, *Don Pedro Calderón* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 293. The ceiling of the Salón dorado is partially represented in the watercolour illustrations for *Los celos hacen estrellas* (1672). For depictions of royal lineage in this serial fashion, including the Salón Dorado with its canvases depicting Spanish monarchs from Pelayo to Philip IV and the ceremonial entry of Mariana of Austria into Madrid in 1649 which included representations of both Philip’s and Mariana’s immediate ancestors, see Steven N. Orso, *Philip IV and the Decoration of the Alcázar of Madrid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 126-35.

²⁴ See Greer, *Play of Power*, 185.

políticas neatly states.²⁵ The applicability of this is spelt out by Saavedra in terms that directly relate to the set here:

Si V.A. quisiere cotejar y conocer, cuande sea rey, los quilates y valor de su púrpura real, no la ponga a las luces y cambiantes de los aduladores y lisonjeros [...] Ni la fie V.A. del amor propio, que es como los ojos, que ven a los demás, pero no a sí mismos. Menester será que, como ellos se dejan conocer, representadas en el cristal del espejo sus especies, así V.A. la ponga al lado de los purpúreos mantos de sus gloriosos padres y agüelos, y advierta si desdice de la púrpura de sus virtudes mirándose en ellas. [...] Considere pues V.A. si iguala su valor al de su generoso padre, su piedad a la de su agüelo, su prudencia a la de Filipe Segundo, su magnanimidad a la de Carlos Quinto, su agrado al de Filipe el Primero, su política a la de don Fernando el Católico, su liberalidad a la de don Alonso el de la mano horadada, su justicia a la del rey don Alonso Undécimo, y su religión a la del rey don Fernando el Sancto. (316)

For Saavedra, art displayed within the palace had a primary didactic function: 'No ha de haber en [los palacios] estatua ni pintura que no críe en el pecho del príncipe gloriosa emulación. Escriba el pincel en los lienzos, el buril en los bronce, y el cincel en los mármoles los hechos heroicos de sus antepasados, que lea a todas horas'.²⁶ The importance of ancestry to exalt the dynasty and, thereby, to emphasise the legitimacy of the ruling house, as well as to provide *exempla* for the monarch was of particular importance during and after the minority of Charles II given his perceived inadequacies. The most striking pictorial embodiment of this is Sebastián de Herrera Barnuevo's portrait of Charles (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid, c.1670-75) where the young king stands alone surrounded by his parents and ancestors in portrait, miniature and bust format.²⁷ Whilst the early modern truism expressed by Saavedra as to the importance of measuring oneself against one's illustrious ancestors is clearly intended by Calderón, the staging, by having the monarchs sit directly opposite their own portraits, fundamentally posits the monarchs as, crucially, the ultimate judges of themselves, a point to which I shall return. Certainly, as viewing and vanishing points are aligned, the visual pyramid squares with the pyramid of perspective, and both with the social pyramid, with the monarchs at the apex of all three, such that we have a convergence of visual, social and representational hierarchies. This creates a curious fusion of real and illusionistic space as the real monarchs watch themselves watching the performance.²⁸

The third court spectacle from the 1680s to employ an image of the monarch on stage in its *loa* that I would like to set alongside *Hado* (1680) and *Duelos* (1687) is Marcos de Lanuza Mendoza y Arellano's *Las Bélides*. This *zarzuela*, with scenography possibly by José Caudí, was performed on 22 Dec 1686 in the 'Salón de Palacio' for the birthday of Mariana of Austria.²⁹ Both the curtain and dialogue in the *loa* refer to the taking of Buda in 1686, and the images of Germany and Hungary on the curtain become real as actresses representing each descend in front of it:

Estaba pintado el lienzo de la cortina de suerte que en el medio se descubría una Aguila Imperial coronada y abajo se fingía un mar, y a los dos lados dos ríos, en la significación de ser uno el Danubio y otro el Tibisco, y otro el Sabo y el último el Drabo, cuyas corrientes se encaminaban al mar; y un mote castellano que decía: *Al piélago de Alemania / Corren ríos de esplendor, / y no por eso es mayor*. Y al pie del Aguila remataba este dístico latino: *Fluminibus variis vastum licet æquor abundet, / Non tamen hinc tumidis, unda redundat aquis*. En el lado derecho de la cortina estaba pintada Alemania sobre una águila imperial llena de trofeos militares, y al otro lado la Hungría sobre una luna eclipsada, a cuyo pie se miraban rendidos despojos bárbaros, como turbantes, alfanjes, y banderas turcas, y después de haberse sentado sus Majestades bajaron

²⁵ See Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Empresas políticas*, edited by Sagrario López (Madrid: Cátedra, 1999), emblem XVI, 315.

²⁶ See *Empresas*, no.II, 208-09.

²⁷ For pictorial representations of Charles within the context of the Habsburg dynasty, see Víctor Mínguez, *La invención de Carlos II: Apoteosis simbólica de la casa de Austria* (Madrid: CEEH, 2013), 59-81.

²⁸ Cruickshank (*Don Pedro Calderón*, 294) loosely describes the set-up as follows: 'the king and queen in a theatre, watching a play which portrayed them in a theatre, watching a play'.

²⁹ For the suggestion that the scenography is by José Caudí, see Kazimierz Sabik, 'El teatro de tema mitológico de Marcos de Lanuza, Conde de Clavijo, en la corte de Carlos II', in *Actas de X Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*, edited by Antonio Vilanova (Barcelona: PPU, 1992), 1085-96 (p.1093). On Lanuza, see Pedro C. Rojo Alique, 'Notas sobre don Marcos de Lanuza Mendoza y Arellano, Conde de Clavijo', *Criticón*, 103-04 (2008), 171-206.

dos damas por los dos lados de la cortina cantando y vestidas a semejanza de las que simbolizaba la cortina a Alemania y Hungría, con tal propiedad que la vista se podía equivocar en la vista, si el oído no distinguiera cuáles eran las reales en lo corpóreo por la dulzura de sus acentos.³⁰

As mother of Charles II and sister of the emperor Leopold, Mariana is the pivot between the local occasion (her birthday) and the major Habsburg victory (the capturing of Buda), and the plot of the *loa* concerns the actual creation of her portrait, painted throughout the piece by Fama, with the aid of Duración, and by Eternidad.³¹ This portrait is intended to occupy the central position in the Temple of Fame, which is shown on stage:

Con la repetición de la música subieron la cortina al compás de sus acentos, descubriéndose el teatro cuya fábrica era un templo adornado de jaspes y bronces, en cuyas columnas se miraban unos nichos en los cuales había estatuas de heroínas que la Fama celebra, y en el foro había un solio desocupado, como que estaba dedicado para alguna superior a todas, y a los dos lados se veían los cuatro ríos simbolizados en la cortina, y en el último tránsito del foro un mar donde se encaminaban las corrientes de los ríos, y delante en el primer término de la perspectiva estaba la Fama como la pintan, con un lienzo en la mano, y en la otra pinceles, como que quería pintar.

Four virtues, described as ‘las cuatro virtudes / del reinar’, appear on stage and aid Fama’s initial creation of Mariana’s image, Benignidad colouring the eyes, Liberalidad the hands, Celo the ears, and Constancia the breast, and the four rivers (the Danube, Tisza, Sajó and Drava) then provide details of the Habsburg’s recent Hungarian campaign to aid Eternidad’s retouching of the same features so as to emphasise ‘lo heroico’.

If *Hado*’s mirroring of the monarchs seated in the auditorium in their images on the stage has links with Velázquez’s *Las meninas* in which the monarchs (imagined as outside the canvas) are present in the canvas only as reflections in the mirror at the back of the room depicted, then the *loa* to *Las Bélides* has even stronger connections with Velázquez’s masterpiece. For if one specifically follows Palomino’s interpretation that what Velázquez is painting on the large canvas whose reverse we see in *Las meninas* is what is reflected in the mirror at the back of the composition, then both *Las meninas* and *Las Bélides* depict the creation of a royal portrait in front of our eyes, as it were, and in both works the models are outwith the illusionistic space—and in the case of *Las Bélides*, of course, Mariana was actually sitting in the auditorium—and the artist(s) firmly within it.³² As Neumeister notes, whilst Velázquez’s inclusion of himself in *Las meninas* is not an attempt to overturn absolute monarchy, it nevertheless serves to underline the monarch’s dependency on him.³³ The *loa* to *Las Bélides* makes the same point: monarchy’s dependence on art (primarily painting but also, of course, drama) to create an image that will not only slow down time’s inexorable flow (precisely Duración’s function, as she explains to Eternidad) but transcend time (precisely Eternidad’s nature, as she explains to Duración). And by subsuming painting into his *loa*, Lanuza trumps, by doubling, this key aspect at the heart of *Las meninas*: here theatre stages the production by both dramatic and painterly art of a royal image. The palace is literally and figuratively both stage and studio for the production not only of monarchy’s image but, thereby, of monarchy itself. This aspect of Velázquez’s masterpiece comes to the fore in court spectacles staged during Charles’ reign, perhaps precisely because of the need for a powerfully sustaining image of the Habsburg monarch given Charles’ lack of charisma, strong leadership and, worst of all from the early modern perspective, heirs. Certainly, the court arts during Charles’ reign boldly make explicit their absolute centrality in the creation of the royal image.

The openings of these three court spectacles are obviously related to one another in their staging and in the manner in which they eulogise the monarch, with *Las Bélides* (1686) clearly being in dialogue with *Hado* (1680),

³⁰ For this and other quotations, see the unpaginated *loa* in Marcos de Lanuza Mendoza y Arellano, *Las Bélides. Zarzuela que se escribió para celebrar el día de los años de la Reina Madre nuestra Señora Doña Mariana de Austria, y se representó a sus Majestades en el Salón de Palacio el día de sus reales años veinte y dos de diciembre del año de mil seiscientos y ochenta y seis* (no place, no publisher, no date).

³¹ For a brief discussion of portraitists shown at work in court dramas, see Javier Portús Pérez, ‘Diego Velázquez, 1650-1660: Retrato y cultura cortesana’ in *Velázquez y la familia de Felipe IV (1650-1680)*, edited by Javier Portús Pérez (Madrid: Museo Nacional del Prado, 2013), 17-59 (pp.26-27).

³² For Palomino’s comments on *Las meninas*, see Antonio Palomino, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, edited by Juan A. Cean Bermúdez (Madrid: Aguilar, 1947), 921.

³³ See Neumeister, *Mito clásico y ostentación*, 308. For a discussion of similarities and differences between *Hado*’s *loa* and *Las meninas*, see 296-311. Cruickshank (*Don Pedro Calderón*, 293) also sees the influence of Velázquez’s masterpiece in the staging of *Hado*’s *loa*.

and *Duelos* (1687) with both—a dialogue that is perhaps not so surprising if José Caudí was indeed the scenographer for all three plays. All three not only turn the royal spectator into a spectacle, but the king and/or queen into a (painted or sculptured) image. All thus make explicit the central role of art in the formation of the royal image and in the representation and projection of power. In any one-point perspective scheme such as that employed in court theatre, the viewing point (in real space) and the vanishing point (in illusionistic space) are not simply locked together but each, in positioning the other, necessarily also thereby presupposes and projects the other. In *Hado*, the stage directions explicitly comment that Charles and María Luisa's seats are positioned in the auditorium at the optimum viewing point, whilst their enthroned portraits are placed 'en la frente del salón, ocupando el medio de la perspectiva'.³⁴ As a consequence of one-point perspective, then, the monarchs in the auditorium are not only intimately bound to their portraits on stage, and vice versa, but (as the language of reflection used in the description of this set's relation to the auditorium implies) each projects the existence of the other in an act that reveals the mutual dependency of monarch and image. (Such specularity serves also to reveal not so much the narcissism of Baroque court culture as the putative omnipresence of the sovereign gaze in an age of absolutism, for here the gaze that is incorporated in, and returned by, *any* perspectival construction is precisely the monarchs', thereby underscoring that there is no escape from the sovereign gaze, not even, paradoxically, for the monarchs themselves.) It also exemplifies the collapsing of spatial binaries always occasioned within Baroque space, with the sovereigns looking in at themselves simultaneously looking out. The *loa* of *Las Bélides*, in contrast, by staging the actual creation of a painting of Mariana, depicts the concrete process of turning the monarch into an image freighted with meaning, and in so doing makes explicit a portrait's function as an image of royal *virtues*, not simply as a literal *likeness*.

The *loas* of both *Hado* and *Las Bélides* thus use the mirroring of the monarch(s) in real space in the representation of the monarch(s) on the physical stage as a means of folding real and fictive space. And it is clear that just as the décor and *loa* of *Las Bélides* take up and extend the way those elements in *Hado* fold the two spaces together, so *Duelos* draws upon both examples to give a further twist to such Baroque folding by fully incorporating into this representational mise-en-abyme the curtain which acts both as a literal barrier of separation and, by means of what is represented on it, also paradoxically as the primary means of fusing the breach between real and fictive spaces that it otherwise serves to establish. (This curtain thereby assumes something of the nature of *quadratura* in so far as what is depicted on it has the effect of dissolving the very materiality of the painted surface.) Unlike the other two plays, however, *Duelos* depicts the king not as a portrait but as a statue, the three-dimensionality of which introduces a new element which is itself underscored by the curtain's initial two-dimensional representation of both the three-dimensional stage space and of the statue, for by doubling the monarch's representation and the representational forms (painting-of-a-statue and statue), *Duelos* even more insistently foregrounds the issue of representation, and thus of reality.

On one level, Charles, María Luisa and Mariana are represented by paintings/sculpture, not by actors (unlike the nine Heroes of Fame in *Duelos* and, possibly, the fourteen royal ancestors in *Hado*), out of both decorum and logic (since they cannot be in two places at once). But there is, I think, wider significance in the king and/or queen being represented as an image.

In the scopic world of the court, the sovereign who is its centre, its focal point, is represented by a portrait or a statue precisely because the very *raison d'être* of a work of art is to capture the eye, to be looked at and gazed upon. This point of congruence between the two is given a threefold emphasis in *Hado* since in its *loa* the monarchs are represented (i) as portraits placed (ii) on the stage such that (iii) they intersect the perspectival axis, with the result that the real monarchs are transfixed by their own representation—as Charles also is, twice over, in *Duelos*.

Furthermore, in all three *loas* what we see on stage is an artistic representation (a statue or painting), for art is in part laying claim to a greater longevity than a person ever could. This, the divine power of painting eulogised by Alberti (*On Painting*, II.25), is the obvious intention behind the very participation of Duración and Eternidad in the creation of Mariana's portrait in *Las Bélides*. In this way, appearance lays claim to posterity and thence to temporal reality. But art is also, more importantly, laying claim to greater *ser*. There is a parallel for what I want to suggest occurs here with a celebrated anecdote concerning Bernini's bust of Pedro de Foix Montoya recorded in

³⁴ See *Hado y divisa*, 356, 358.

all early biographical accounts of the artist. In the version given by Bernini's son, we are told that, when people compared the bust and Montoya, they were 'obliged to conclude either that both were artificial or both real'.³⁵ This, of course, is the familiar motif of profound realism leading to the indistinguishability of copy and original; the same notion is recorded, for example, in Palomino's account of contemporary responses to Velázquez's portrait of his slave, Juan de Pareja.³⁶ (Such representational realism is also emphasised in what is said of the monarchs' portraits in the description of *Hado*'s first performance.³⁷) But the Bernini anecdote continues:

Hearing someone remark that 'this is Montoya turned to stone' at the moment in which Monsignor Montoya himself happened to arrive on the scene, Cardinal Maffeo [Barberini] approached the prelate in a spirit of jest and touched him, saying: 'This is the portrait of Monsignor Montoya', and, turning to the statue, added, 'And this is Monsignor Montoya'.³⁸

Although still essentially praising the astonishing realism and spirit of the copy, Barberini's rejoinder takes such praise a step further by wittily asserting that the representation and the original cross-over, with the result that the former supplants the latter; *ser* becomes *parecer*, and *parecer*, *ser*. In the court spectacles under consideration, there is a similar supplantation as a result of the cross-over between real and illusionistic space. In them, the real monarch is, in a sense, mere appearance, for it is paradoxically the *representation* of the monarch—placed as this is (on the stage) in the context of History, crowned by Fame, and surrounded by ancestors, heroes or virtues—that not only claims to reveal the monarch's true worth, his *ser*, but that, in so doing, also effectively lays claim to a greater or truer reality itself than mere exterior likeness. The image reveals inner *ser*; the real monarch, only *parecer*. As such, Charles is exalted by his representation, but also surpassed and thereby put in his place by it. It surpasses him because, in its claim to truth, it reveals the *ser* to his *parecer*, and because, given this claim to truth, it acts as a goad. For if the staging of the *loa* to *Hado* specifically posits that the sovereign gaze encompasses the actual sovereign himself, then all three *loas* emphasise the corollary of this, namely that the king is always subject to the power and (omni)presence of his own idealised image.³⁹ It is the *ser* to his *parecer*. To return to the mutual projection of the vanishing point and viewing point in one-point perspective used in court theatre, in one sense the representation on stage is a reflection of the real king, but on a perhaps more profound level, *he* is *its* reflection, its insubstantial shadow. It is here, then, that we see perhaps the ultimate example of the mutual cross-over of binary opposites that is characteristic of Baroque space.

³⁵ See Domenico Bernini, *The Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, translated, with introduction and commentary, by Franco Mormando (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011), 103.

³⁶ 'Hizo la de Juan de Pareja, esclavo suyo, y agudo pintor, tan semejante, y con tanta viveza, que habiéndolo enviado con el mismo Pareja a la censura de algunos amigos, se quedaban mirando el retrato pintado, y al original, con admiración y asombro, sin saber con quién habían de hablar, o quién les había de responder'. See Palomino, *Museo pictórico*, 913. This cliché is found elsewhere in Palomino's discussion of Velázquez, as when he records Philip IV's reaction to the Sevillian's portrait of Adrián Pulido Pareja, the king speaking to it having mistaken the portrait for Pulido himself, or mentions his portrait of Innocent X leading a member of Innocent's court to assume the pope himself was present (*Museo pictórico*, 905, 912-13).

³⁷ 'Dos retratos de nuestros felicísimos monarcas, imitados tan al vivo, que como estaban frente de sus originales pareció ser un espejo en que trasladaban sus peregrinas perfecciones; y el ansia que desea verlos en todas partes quisiera hallar más repetidas sus copias' (*Hado*, 358).

³⁸ See Bernini, *Life of Gian Lorenzo Bernini*, 103.

³⁹ As such, we have what amounts to an object lesson in the scopic imperative of court society. As the monarch sees himself as others supposedly see him, and gazes upon, whilst transfixed by, his own idealised gaze, there is a coming together of two key aspects of that imperative as described by Gracián: on the one hand, the constant need to be aware that our every action might be overseen and, on the other, the constant need to ensure that we are (over)seen by ourselves. See, for example, Baltasar Gracián, *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia*, edited by Emilio Blanco (Madrid: Cátedra, 1995), aphorisms 297 and 50 (258-59, 130).